

NEXT WEEK:
PROBLEM OF SOCIALIST
UNITY
by Will Herberg

Workers Age

Weekly Paper of the Independent Labor League of America

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AT FIRST GLANCE

by Jay Lovestone

SCRAPS OF PAPER

NEVER were treaties between nations as worthless as they are today. To this there are no exceptions. We stress this for the benefit of those who are preparing to put stock in a treaty that might be signed between the Chamberlain and Stalin regimes.

Let us assume, strictly for the sake of argument, that the prolonged negotiations for a Russian alliance will bear formal fruit. Such a treaty of "friendship" will not necessarily exclude substantial rapprochement between Stalin and the Hitler-Mussolini block. To its chagrin, the Sunday Times of London recently was compelled to admit that "since Mr. Strang arrived in Moscow, a German industrialist has been there negotiating with the Russians. . . . In Berlin, zealous Nazis talk among themselves about the advantages of 'going with Russia' and tell their friends of 'a new division of Poland, between Russia and Germany!'"

In line with this, too much importance cannot be attached to the coming visit to Stalin by the ace Nazi economic negotiator, Helmut Wohlthat. The latter, who put over the Rumanian deal for Hitler, will seek to conclude a \$600,000,000 credit deal to provide the German war machine with oil, ores and timber from the U.S.S.R. As if to put even firmer finishing touches on these manifestations of real friendship in deed, a delegation of Nazi steel magnates will then go to Moscow.

Apparently it would be wrong to poo-poo the recent reports that Mussolini has been working hard for a rapprochement between the Axis powers and the Stalin dictatorship. Evidence of such efforts was afforded aptly the other day when the authoritative Gazzetta del Popolo wrote a long dissertation to prove that there was little difference between the Stalin regime and the Mussolini, Hitler and Franco regimes, and that therefore "their destinies lay naturally together." Said this Turin mouthpiece of Il Duce: "There are many reasons which might bring Russia close to the Axis powers and to those who gravitate around them; this may appear a heresy, but it is not."

Of course, here is a trial balloon filled with poisonous ideological gas. Nevertheless, let no one minimize the likelihood of contemporary politics making even for stranger bedfellows than Stalin and Hitler. Didn't Italian bombers use Soviet petrol to shoot down Russian pilots flying in Spain? Paradoxical? Really illuminating of what consorting with imperialist brigands will bring! Stalin's policies have led the Soviet government to a position of being dependent on one or another brand of imperialist brigands. From the viewpoint of independent international working-class action, the U.S.S.R. is now impotent in its foreign affairs.

FEEDING AT THE PUBLIC TROUGH

IN its July 15 issue, our intelligent contemporary, the Economist (London) significantly remarked: "Our armaments-fed boom brings us daily nearer the state of full employment. The mainspring of industrial activity today is not the profit motive, beloved of the classical economists; it is full spending from the public purse to meet the dire necessities of preparedness."

There is much economic, social and political dynamite in this analysis. It is replete with meaning not only for the flourishing capitalist world of yesterday but pregnant with import for the decaying bourgeois world of today—and even "The World of Tomorrow."

Without going into details about the tremendous profits garnered by British industrial and financial kingpins, I will cite but one typical instance of how the British capitalist swine have been fed from the public purse. For preparedness reasons, Britain has arranged to merge Imperial Airways and British Airways under a corporation which will borrow up to about \$50,000,000 backed by a Treasury guarantee. Last Armistice Day, before the first announcement of the merger was made, the shares of Imperial Airways stood at 25s.3d. Upon the first announcement of the merger in the House of Commons, the shares jumped to between 29s. and 30s. God bless British "democracy," eh? Oh no! Let's not hurry too much with our blessings. They may be inadequate. On the morning of May 12—in the heat of war alarms—the shareholders of Imperial Airways were notified that the government's price was to be 32s.9d. The joint profits of thirty British armament firms rose from £3,800,000 in 1934 to £11,700,000 in 1937. Who said the British workers had no "democratic ideals" to defend?

And this, of course, is no British bourgeois peculiarity. Wall Street's moguls have taken even more from society's trough. The history of American railroads, armament profits, "public" utilities, Reconstruction Finance Corporation loans, and large government subsidies to big business tell an equally unsavory story.

But the Economist's evaluation has even more deepgoing implications. It states succinctly the fact that the foundation of the still mighty British capitalism is decayed. "The productive forces at the disposal of the community no longer serve to foster bourgeois property relations. Having grown too powerful for these relations, they are hampered thereby; and when they overcome the obstacle, they spread disorder through bourgeois society and endanger the very existence of bourgeois property. The bourgeois system is no longer able to cope with the abundance of the wealth it creates."

Anglo-French Pact Minor Aspect of Stalin Policy

Tri-Power Treaty a Mere Scrap of Paper

By G. SIMON

Paris, France
IT is now almost certain that the proposed military alliance between England and France on the one side and the Soviet Union on the other, will not be concluded. Even if the Moscow negotiations should result in the three powers signing in common some scrap of paper, this would be merely an empty gesture. The Moscow negotiations have failed not because, as the Stalinist press suggests, Chamberlain is sabotaging out of his hatred of the Bolsheviks and his sympathies for the Nazis, but simply because Stalin does not want to take over definite obligations towards the so-called "democratic" imperialist powers. It was not Stalin who approached Chamberlain, but Chamberlain who came to Stalin to ask for an alliance. The British imperialists are undoubtedly reactionaries, but after the experiences of recent years, they certainly do not consider the Stalinist regime as representing a revolutionary danger. We can take it for granted that after the breakdown of his Munich policy, Chamberlain really desired a firm alliance

with the Soviet Union. (Of course, if he does not succeed, he will probably try to come to terms with Hitler at the expense of the U.S.S.R.)

EQUALLY PERNICIOUS POLICIES

We have no reason to regret that the Soviet Union is not being made an instrument of the imperialist interests of England and France and that the Russian workers are not being sold as cannon fodder for the defense of the British and the French colonial empires, of the Polish military dictatorship, of King Carol's Rumanian absolutism, etc. But it would be utterly false to cherish any illusions as to the character of the foreign policy which Stalin is now pursuing. What Stalin is now aiming at amounts practically to support of the fascist imperialists of the Axis. From the point of view of the interests of the international working class, it is equally pernicious whether the Stalin regime lends military help to the "democratic" imperialists or economic assistance to the fascist imperialists.

The general tendency of Stalin's foreign policy was made quite clear by himself at the last congress of

Army Threatens WPA Relief Strikers

Senate Eases Mass Layoffs on W.P.A.

18-Month Clause Modified, Prevailing Wage Ban Remains, Strikes Continue

Washington, D. C.

The possibility that the mass dismissals of W.P.A. workers under the so-called 18-month clause of the 1940 relief act will be abandoned, loomed large last week as the Senate passed by a vote of 43 to 32 Senator Murray's amendment to the Administration's pending bill modifying the original mandatory layoff of all those on work-relief for eighteen months or more. According to the Murray amendment, W.P.A. workers would not be dropped from the rolls if this would work "unusual hardship" on them.

As soon as Senator Murray's proposal was carried, Works Projects Commissioner Harrington issued an order temporarily suspending all dismissals under the 18-month clause pending final action by Congress. The House is expected to act on the question within the next few days. At the same session of the Senate, another amendment by Senator McCarran to restore prevailing wage scales on W.P.A. was narrowly defeated by a vote of 40 to 38. Among those casting their votes against the wage amendment were such Administration stalwarts as Senators Bankhead, Barkley, Minton and Pepper.

Feeling that prevailing wage scales could be restored on W.P.A. projects initiated before July 1 by Executive order, grew last week although no word was forthcoming from the Attorney General's office, which was studying the legality of such a

move. A. F. of L. spokesmen declared that they would concentrate upon bringing about the restoration of union scales thru such means since there was little chance of favorable Congressional action.

In New York City and other centers, the A. F. of L. strikes on W.P.A. projects continued, effectively crippling construction activities. The A. F. of L. teamsters union took an aggressive effort to stop the delivery of materials to W.P.A. projects where union building workers were on strike. At North Beach Airport and other projects in New York City, delegates from Local 282, International Brotherhood of Teamsters, stopped trucks and arranged for a teamsters picket line to prevent deliveries. The action of the teamsters union, officials declared, was in line with a decision of the Building Trades Council of New York, representing about 150 A. F. of L. unions.

Local W.P.A. Administrator Somervell met this solidarity action of teamsters with his usual threats, declaring he was "inquiring" whether the truckmen might be prosecuted for a "boycott against the government."

Leaders of the Building Trades Council said they were still considering the proposal to extend the tie-up to all federally financed public works in New York City. A meeting of the Council was scheduled to take place in the next few days to act on this suggestion.

A.L.P. Names Solomon for Bklyn D.A.

Nomination Ends Possibility Of Coalition With Old Parties In Kings Co.

New York City
City Magistrate Charles Solomon was officially designated last week as the American Labor Party's candidate for District Attorney of Kings County.

Announcement of his candidacy was made by Alex Rose, A. L. P. state executive secretary, following a meeting of the state executive committee.

The American Labor Party's action apparently ended all possibility of coalition with either of the two old parties in the Kings County election.

The A.L.P. will complete its slate within the next few days.

Magistrate Solomon, who was appointed to the bench by Mayor La Guardia in December 1935, is a socialist, and was one of the five socialist assemblymen ousted from the State Legislature in the post-war anti-radical hysteria of 1920. He has been a socialist candidate for governor, United States senator, mayor and other offices.

the Russian Communist Party, where he said: (1) that the Soviet Union was not prepared to draw chestnuts out of the fire for any other power, i.e., that it intended to remain aloof from a war among the imperialist states; (2) that it was false to pretend that Hitler wanted to attack the U.S.S.R.—a statement which meant simply that in Stalin's opinion there was no direct conflict between Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union; and (3) that the Soviet Union was prepared to develop its economic relations with the fascist states. In his latest speech, made after he had become Commissar for Foreign Affairs, Molotov repeated points one and three of the Stalin declaration.

It is quite understandable that Stalin was not in a hurry to draw the Soviet Union into a war. We don't credit Stalin with any revolutionary principles or sentimental considerations. But he certainly feels that if there is a war, the U.S.S.R. will always have the chance to step into it in its own good time. Stalin certainly does not believe all the rubbish about the "defense of democracy" which his agents are trying to sell outside. And there is no reason why Stalin should be particularly interested in the integrity of the British and the French empires. Besides that, the inner situation in the Soviet Union is not of a kind to allow the Stalin regime to risk a war lightly. The latest decree dealing with agricultural collectives shows that there is a profound con-

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The New Deal Turns Sour

"LEFT-wingers in the New Deal privately are expressing opinions that reveal their belief that the real New Deal days are over. Talk among this group is that the President is swinging strongly to the right. The McNutt appointment and the White House opposition to continued high hourly W.P.A. wages are listed as symptoms." — United States News, July 17, 1939.

Army Journal Urges Use of Troops to 'Preserve Order', Crush 'Trouble-Breeders'

The Army and Navy Journal, recognized spokesman of the armed services of the United States, proposed last week in a special editorial in its July 22 issue that federal troops be called out to crush all "trouble-breeders" on W.P.A. who dared put up any objection to the destruction of union wage scales on work-relief projects or to the dismissal of hundreds of thousands from W.P.A. This semi-official publication,

speaking for the higher-up army chiefs, pointed to President Roosevelt's statements "outlawing" the W.P.A. strikes as "strikes against the government" as the justification for their proposal. If such strikes are really "illegal"—the service paper argued—then obviously the military forces of the federal government must be called upon to prevent or suppress them. The federal troops, according to the Army and Navy Journal, would be ready to go into action against the relief workers "with sternness but with care and consideration."

The most important paragraphs of this sensational editorial follow:

"The country is aware that the curtain has just lifted upon a scene of labor troubles that is likely to have serious aspects, including the use of armed force for the preservation and, possibly, restoration of order."

"Because of their failure to return to work within the time limit fixed by Col. Harrington, some thousands of strikers have been dropped from the W.P.A. rolls. This, a sizable number of trouble-breeders, is scattered throughout the country. Within a few weeks, there will be dropped at least 300,000 reliefers who have been on the rolls for the maximum length of time—18 months—permitted by the new law."

"The fact remains that reliefers are federal employees engaged in federal work, and therefore it would seem that a state properly can look to Washington to suppress any disturbances they provoke. If this finally be the decision of the Department of Justice, and it would appear to follow from the announcement of the Attorney General and the strike against the government, then should trouble come, the Regulars will be called upon to perform the unpleasant duty of restoring public order, which in so many recent instances has been discharged effectively by the National Guard. The conduct of federal troops in the past when they have been assigned to this work forecasts they will act with sternness, but with that care and consideration which has earned for them the approval of the mass of the people."

Intense indignation was expressed in labor circles at this violently anti-labor, near-fascist outburst on the part of the higher-ups in the army bureaucracy, without interference at all from President Roosevelt, the commander-in-chief of the army and navy. It was recalled that as far back as 1934, in the second year of the New Deal, the present Secretary of War, Harry H. Woodring, then Assistant Secretary, urged that the army "take over" all relief agencies and organize "economic storm troops" to "support the government and take charge of the nation." In an article in Liberty Magazine for January 6, 1934, Mr. Woodring declared:

"People who believe that the United States Army is not ready and able to take charge of this nation in an emergency simply do not know the facts. Our army happens to be the only branch of the government which is already organized and available not only to defend our territory but also to cope with social and economic problems in an emergency. It is our 'ace in the hole' in peace as well as war. . . . It is my opinion that the army should take over immediately some of the activities which are now being handled by some of the new executive agencies. . . . If the army were so directed, it could organize the veterans of the World War, the C.C.C. men, and thru them the administration of the emergency relief, into a system of economic storm troops that could suppress the government's efforts to smash the depression. . . . Let's speak frankly! If this country should be threatened with foreign war, economic chaos, or social revolution, the army has the training, the experience, the organization, and the men to support the government and direct the country in the national interest."

again on its course of giving widespread circulation to unproved and unprovable charges against the friends and personnel of the New Deal. . . . And the one friend of the New Deal on that committee—at least the one presumably active friend, Congressman Jerry Voorhis of California—much as I hate to say it, because he is an intimate friend of mine and I have great respect for his self-sacrificing adherence to what he thinks is right, yet he seems to me to be one of the best collaborators Martin Dies could have asked for."

Some reporters tell me this has been called to Voorhis's attention and he said, in gist: "The C.P. can't scare me by these tactics. I'm learning more about them. I don't agree"

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C.I.O. Invades the Building Trades

THE announcement by John L. Lewis that the C.I.O. intends to invade the building trades and set up a union of its own in this field, must have brought dismay to millions of workers throughout the country, in the A. F. of L., who have learned from bitter experience the heavy costs that labor must pay for the dissension and civil war raging in its ranks.

There is no justification under the sun for the fateful step the C.I.O. is about to take upon what is obviously the arbitrary decision of John L. Lewis and his coterie of yes-men. For the building trades are emphatically not mass-production industries. Nor are they by any means unorganized; indeed, a higher proportion of workers are unionized in this field than in many fields which the C.I.O. controls. The building trades, furthermore, are not particularly suited to the industrial form of organization, as Lewis, Brophy, Howard and other C.I.O. leaders themselves pointed out only a few years ago. Mr. Lewis's entire statement contains not one particle of reasonable excuse for the adventure into which he is dragging the C.I.O.

The fact is that this adventure is dual unionism pure and simple. It is the invasion of an already organized industry, where the C.I.O. does not belong and where only yesterday it pledged it would never enter. And it is bound to have all of the worst consequences of dual unionism in its most aggravated form. The A. F. of L. unions will certainly not take it lying down. They will resist. And the ranks of labor will be more hopelessly divided, demoralized and disorganized, and public opinion more irreparably alienated, than ever before. The price that the labor movement as a whole will be called upon to pay will be frightful indeed. Whether John L. Lewis wins or loses in his invasion of the building trades, labor will lose, and lose heavily.

This is Mr. Lewis's answer to the deep, all-pervading desire for unity among the rank and file of the trade-union movement. This is Mr. Lewis's answer to the concessions that A. F. of L. leaders have shown themselves ready to make for the sake of reestablishing peace in labor's ranks. This is Mr. Lewis's way of showing his solidarity with the embattled building-trades workers, fighting labor's fight to maintain union wage scales in the face of the bitter hostility of the federal government and even the threat of military suppression.

Mr. Lewis has completely forgotten the original purpose and mission of the C.I.O.—"to promote the organization of the mass-production industries along industrial lines." He cannot see that the essential part of this mission has already been accomplished and that the rest can well be carried out within the framework of a united labor movement. He cannot see that the paramount problem today is the reunification of labor's ranks. And because he can not see these things, which a man of his standing and responsibility should see most clearly, he has allowed himself to be maneuvered into a position where he is bound to resort more and more to reckless dual unionism and irresponsible spite strategy against the A. F. of L., without any regard to the consequences for the labor movement as a whole. In this we may be sure he will be eagerly aided and egged on by his Stalinist allies and instigators.

Repeatedly in past months we have warned against such an outcropping of dual unionism on the part of the C.I.O. If Mr. Lewis's course was not changed. As far back as last October, we particularly called attention to the danger of a C.I.O. invasion of the building trades. And now this danger has become a dreadful reality. Now nothing can save the labor movement from dire disaster short of a wave of irresistible pressure for unity in the ranks of organized labor that will force Mr. Lewis to call a halt to his mad dualistic adventures.

Lewis Move on Building Trades Stuns Capitol

Frank Howard's Weekly Washington Letter

By FRANK HOWARD

Washington, D. C.
THE entrance of the C.I.O. into the building-trades field is the big labor news in Washington this week. Lewis is determined to fight labor unity and this new dual-union organizing effort is therefore consistent and logical. It is significant that on the same day that this new effort was announced, Sidney Hillman, testifying against amendments to the Wagner Act, made clear that the Amalgamated desires unity and believes it could be achieved if the rank and file had their way.

Some C.I.O.ers here defend Lewis's action as desirable in the sense that it gives the C.I.O. "additional bargaining power" in the peace negotiations. They say little will be done by the C.I.O. this Summer unless unity negotiations break down completely. From preparations that have been made by Danny Lewis for the drive, this seems like an unusually lame excuse.

The July 21 issue of the Pilot, the National Maritime Union's weekly, has caused quite a stir in certain

circles here. On the first page there is a boxed attack on Eddie Levinson, editor of the C.I.O. auto union's paper. The Curran-N.M.U.-Stalinist machine is appealing to the C.I.O. Executive Board to get rid of him. How is this for freedom of the press? What about democracy? Eddie's friends here, among newspapermen, are enraged. They are reminding whoever will listen that Eddie has been a diligent labor reporter for years, that he wrote the first good book on labor spies and stool pigeons written in recent times, and that his only fault is that he is anti-Stalinist. I like to remind them that they should not get so het up about the matter. This is the routine way the Stalinites carry on character assassination and disruption.

This issue of the Pilot also contains a bitter attack on Congressman Jerry Voorhis by that amiable "snake in the grass," Gardner Jackson. Gardner was speaking for the Labor's Non-Partisan League at the N.M.U. convention. He made a speech the C.P. could endorse in toto. At one point he said: "The Dies Committee is about to start off

Curran-C.P. Stranglehold Tightens at N.M.U. Meet

Convention Abolishes All Vestiges of Democracy

By JACK SODERBERG

TIGHTENING THE STALINIST GRIP
The report written for Curran was a masterpiece of Stalinist inspired document. We need not be surprised at the proposals put forth in this piece of hokum, proposals put forth under a thin cloak of democracy but in effect abolishing the last remnant of democracy within the union and centering absolute totalitarian power in the hands of the top faction. Power of appointment, power of finance, powers so broad and sweeping that you'd think the Stalinists had actually obtained state power! The Minks and the Hudsons certainly burnt gallons of midnight oil composing that report containing recommendations which to all intents and purposes subject the seamen to the will and whim of the top clique of this Stalinist-controlled union. Of course, all the decisions arrived at on the basis of the report must be submitted to a referendum vote and it remains to be seen whether the membership will concur. We think they will not.

During the union, several attempts have been made by the commissars, thru Curran, to gag the membership. However, the rank and file, thru their District Committees, were afforded a channel thru which their voices could be heard. The convention report proposes to do away with all District Committees. These committees were a thorn in the Stalinist rose and so they had to be abolished. Hence this arrogant proposal to the convention.

In place of these committees it is now proposed to offer a set of individuals who, as "National Organizers," are to be solely responsible to the National Council. In other words, these individuals are to be sort of sub-commissars responsible only to the commissars proper in the New York Kremlin. Nothing now stands between the will of a supreme bureaucracy and a long-harassed membership. It will be the duty of these lesser commissars to see to it that the ukases handed down by the top clique are duly carried out in an approved totalitarian fashion. Here we see the theory of the "twentieth century" jingoists put into cool and hard practice. Comes the war, this leadership, long since sold body and soul to the Administration's war policy, will receive its orders, which will promptly be carried down the line to the rank and file. Even the old I.S.U. leaders during the last war dared not make the proposal to abolish the last guarantee of district control. It remained for the Browder boys to put it across.

The official closest to the rank and file is the patrolman. He is the delegate who visits the ships and handles the various beefs (complaints) on the ship, in addition to collecting dues, etc. Some of these patrolmen in the past have made the error of listening to the rank and file and endeavoring to carry out their wishes. Something had to be done about this. So it is now proposed that no further elections be held for replacement of these delegates, but that instead names be submitted to the National Council which in turn will choose from the names submitted those whom the Council considers "acceptable." We suspect that membership card in the C.P. is all that is required for the Council. Even a Hitler allows a rural community to elect its own dog-catcher, but not so the Minks and the Hudsons.

AND HIGHER DUES, OF COURSE

Since its very inception, and due to criminal mismanagement and a top-heavy administration, the N.M.U. has labored under extreme financial difficulties. Even at this convention, the leadership (without permission of the rank and file, of course) borrowed \$25,000 from the supposedly inviolable strike fund as collateral. Some people would call this "misappropriation," while others would probably use a less diplomatic term. However, the dues of a dollar a month plus assessments never sufficed. Two alternatives are now given the membership: one, increase the dues to \$2 per month with no assessments; two, increase the dues to \$1.50 per month in addition to a \$2 assessment for the Pilot and \$2 for the Hospital and Prison Benefit Fund. So you are given the choice of paying either \$22 per year or \$25! Heads, I win; tails, you lose! We suspect the members will have something to say about this when the ballot goes out, and we wager the commissars will not like the language that will be used.

HOW CURRAN REPORTS "PROGRESS"

During the two years of existence of the union, a steady trek backwards has been the course of the Stalinist-inspired leadership. Consequently, when it came to report progress, there wasn't any progress to report. So Curran had to chisel in on the achievements of the Sailors

Union of the Pacific and add these to his own credit. The Maritime Commission never was able to make a success of its "training schools" on the West Coast, because the S.U.P. knowing the potential supply of strikebreakers to come out of these schools, opposed them from their very inception, and in doing so the S.U.P. not only had to fight the Commission but the Bridges-Stalinist machine on the West Coast as well. But, in his convention report, Curran stated: "We have succeeded in stopping the Maritime Commission from extending its training service to the Gulf and the Pacific Coast."

On September 27, 1938, the New York commissars caused to be placed on the bulletin board at headquarters a notice ordering the members to report to the fink hall for the purpose of manning the Commission-operated ships instead of manning these ships from the union hall, and at the same time they came out with a statement in the Pilot officially endorsing the Commission training service! The Gulf refused to comply with these orders, maintaining the rule that all men ship in rotation from the union halls. That was one of the reasons for the abolition of the Gulf District Committee.

Site by site in Seattle, there lie two rusty tubs securely tied to the docks by a picket line manned by the S.U.P. and the M.F.O.W.W. These two rusty buckets, operated by the Maritime Commission, were intended to be placed on the Oriental run out of Seattle, but because the Commission insisted on using the same hiring methods there as it has successfully done in Curran's domain, that is, shipping the crews thru fink halls, these ships will rot alongside the pier because no man will touch them. And how did they arrive in Seattle from the East Coast? Despite the fact that they were declared hot by the S.U.P. while still on that coast, Curran ordered his members to man them and take them out to Seattle where they were met by the combined picket lines of the S.U.P. and the M.F.O.

W.W. Incidentally, the crew of one of them, the Coldbrook, was chased thru three states by these pickets before it dawned on them that the ships were too hot to handle. That was Curran's contribution towards "stopping the Commission from extending its training service to the Pacific Coast."

Another phony proposal made by Curran to the convention was one barring any one ever convicted of robbery from holding office. This went thru without any qualification being attached. Now I could mention off-hand something like ten union members doing a bit in prison precisely under a charge of "assault and robbery." And all of them from the waterfront. Let a picket chase a seab and you can bet your bottom dollar that he will be charged with "assault and robbery" if there isn't any dynamite around. But no qualifications exempting these men are made!

MORE PHONEY "UNITY" TALK

Of course, the usual blah-blah of "unity" came up at the convention. Curran bleats about the necessity for unity between the two coasts in the waterfront. Let a picket chase a seab and you can bet your bottom dollar that he will be charged with "assault and robbery" if there isn't any dynamite around. But no qualifications exempting these men are made!

The heavy artillery from the C.I.O. consisted of Mr. John Brophy. What he doesn't know about ships and seamen would fill a library and his address proved it. The rest of the time was divided up in bootlicking protestations of loyalty to the New Deal, which incidentally, appoints the personnel of the Maritime Commission. A little inconsistent, to be sure, but then you have to be inconsistent to be a good Stalinist. As for a New Deal in the N.M.U. there just ain't no such animal.

Exemptions the Key Problem In the Wage-Hour Act

Labor Spokesmen Demand Wider Coverage of Benefits

(This is the second of a series of informative articles on the wage-hour law. The third will appear in the next issue. —Editor.)

Washington, D. C. SINCE the Fair Labor Standards Act applies only to employees engaged in interstate commerce or the production of goods for interstate commerce, employers who can show that the functions of their employees are wholly intrastate in character are entirely excluded from its provisions.

In addition, specific wage and hour exemptions are prescribed for certain employees, including agricultural workers, seamen, employees in an executive, administrative or professional capacity, outside salesmen, fishermen, employees of retail stores and of certain small weekly or semi-weekly newspapers, those employed within the "area of production" in handling, storing, packing, canning, processing and preparing horticultural or agricultural commodities for market or in making cheese or butter or other dairy products. Certain employees of certain common carriers are given an overtime exemption only, being left subject to the minimum-wage provisions of the act. There are certain other overtime exemptions, some for only part of the year and others for the whole year.

While the law extends its protection over workers employed in interstate commerce, it does not itself define the exact limits of interstate commerce. In enforcing the law, the Administrator is guided by such definitions as can be construed from decisions of the courts.

Any worker who wishes to know whether or not he is "covered" and receiving all the benefits of the act to which he is entitled will first make sure that he is not in any one of the exempted categories—for example, that he is not an executive, or employed as a professional worker,

such as a certified public accountant or graduate electrical engineer. If he is employed in a factory, he will have to know whether the goods he helps to manufacture are shipped outside the state by his employer or a purchaser from his employer.

After allowing for all exemptions, it is estimated that 11,000,000 workers are covered. Of these, it is calculated that 1,117,000 are employed in New York.

The question of exemptions is now rapidly becoming the central problem of the wage-hour law. The labor spokesmen insist that there are already too many exemptions and that most, if not all, of the exempted categories ought to be brought in under the coverage of the law. The opponents of wage-hour legislation, on the other hand, are now trying to multiply these exemptions so as to bog down the law and destroy its effectiveness and at the same time satisfy certain special industries and interests who maintain they simply cannot "afford" to pay living wages or keep decent hours.

Labor-union contracts with employers are not affected by the law, unless they prescribe lower wage and hour standards. A union contract, for example, could not, even if it would, set up a minimum wage of 20 cents an hour and a maximum work-week of 48 hours without payment of overtime.

There are two types of labor-union contracts, however, which permit some leeway as to hours. If the employer has a contract signed with the union which provides that no employee shall be employed more than 1,000 hours during any period of 26 consecutive weeks (half a year), or if he has a contract guaranteeing either a fixed annual wage or that no employee shall be employed more than 2,000 hours during any period of 52 consecutive weeks (one year), then the men can work longer

Mike Quill—Whose Friend?

MIKE QUILL'S Transport Workers Union is praised in the annual stockholders report of the Fifth Avenue Coach Company and the New York City Omnibus Corp.

"Intelligent," "sincere," "enlightened," and "progressive" are some of the adjectives applied by the labor-hating John A. Ritchie who found that although original wage demands were "excessive," they were subsequently "modified" because the "prosperity of one is wholly dependent upon the prosperity of the other."

"At the same time, Quill's boss, John L. Lewis, charges Green with seeking and receiving 'the aid, advice and counsel of representatives of the National Association of Manufacturers' to knife the Wagner act. Doesn't one hand know what the other is doing?"—Vanguard, July 1939.

NLRB Orders Anti-Union Vote In Armour Co. Plot in Dep't Of Commerce

Washington, D. C. THE National Labor Relations Board announced last week that an election in Armour and Co. would be held soon to determine a bargaining agency. Mr. Edwin Smith dissented, in the belief that the C.I.O. should have been certified as the bargaining agency by the Board.

The Board also announced the certification of the C.I.O.'s Sawmill and Timber Workers Union as sole-bargaining agency for the employees of the White River Lumber Company, Enumclaw, Wash. A secret-ballot election gave the C.I.O. 359 votes, the A. F. of L. union 235. Six votes were cast for neither organization.

The Board also certified the United Vanadium Workers (C.I.O.) as sole-bargaining agency in the Vanadium Corporation of America, Bridgeville, Pa. Board action was based on submitted membership records for 143 out of 158 employees.

The Board ordered an election in August to determine the bargaining agency for I. Miller and Sons, Inc., one of the largest shoe manufacturing concerns in the New York area.

The shop formerly signed up by the United Shoe Workers (C.I.O.) is now being claimed by the Boot and Shoe Union (A. F. of L.). The latter claims signatures of 483 Miller employees designating it as bargaining agency and in addition 165 workers who had signed pledge cards.

Washington, D. C. HOW was it virtually a semi-secret big-business organization devoted to the promotion of anti-unionism and the company union, operated within the Commerce Department as a semi-official New Deal agency was revealed by the LaFollette Civil Liberties Committee recently.

The committee's report No. 45 disclosed for the first time that members of the Industrial Relations Committee of the Business Advisory Council, appointed by former Secretary of Commerce Roper in 1933, had previously belonged to the Special Conference Committee, an organization formed in 1919 to combat unionism.

The Business Advisory Council enjoyed quasi-official status. It made reports to Roper, which he passed along to President Roosevelt.

As related by the LaFollette Committee, it happened this way:

"About August 1933, the United States Department of Commerce established its Business Advisory and Planning Council with Gerard Swope of General Electric as chairman and Walter C. Teagle of Standard Oil as chairman of the Industrial Relations Committee. Both of these individuals were executives of firms which were members of the Special Conference Committee. Teagle proceeded to appoint all members of the Conference Committee and made Cowdrick secretary of the new committee."

The Cowdrick referred to is E. S. Cowdrick, who, since 1923, has been running the Industrial Relations Committee for twelve of the country's largest corporations—American Telephone and Telegraph, Bethlehem Steel, du Pont, General Electric, General Motors, Goodyear Tire, International Harvester, Irving Trust, Standard Oil, United States Rubber, United States Steel and Westinghouse Electric. The chief objective of the committee was to promote company unionism and staff off "outside" organizers.

The committee has opposed New Deal—the Wagner Act, the Social Security Act and other reform measures. It has defended the open shop and "individual initiative" by advocating a paternalistic attitude toward employees. The "employees representation plan," company-union scheme adopted by many large corporations in the early days of the Roosevelt Administration, was its favorite project.

"The Special Conference Committee had no funds in its own name," the LaFollette Committee reported. "Until December 31, 1936, all financial transactions were cleared thru the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey."

Even after 1936, according to the LaFollette Committee, Cowdrick and his committee of industrial giants gave themselves no publicity beyond the circulation among their members of an annual report. They were content to allow the National Association of Manufacturers and other such associations, with which they cooperated, to put out the propaganda. They worked behind the scenes, formulating anti-union policy. When they became an integral part of Roper's committee, they sometimes inspired publicity stories, but as a governmental agency, not as an employers society.

Fur Progressives Appeal to All Labor

(We publish below a communication sent by the United Progressive Furriers to several hundred trade unionists and figures prominent in the labor world. —Editor.)

July 14, 1939
Dear Sir and Brothers:
AS active members of the Furriers Joint Council of the International Fur Workers Union, we take the liberty of addressing this letter to you. We do this with the sincere hope that after you get acquainted with the facts concerning the state of affairs prevailing in our union, you will voice your opinion in protest, thereby rendering valuable service to democratic procedure in the trade unions in general and in our union in particular.

Since the unification of our union with the communist-dominated independent union, the communists have taken over full control over our union and have abolished every vestige of democratic procedure in order to assure their continued rule.

The Joint Council of our organization consists of 39 members, of whom 35 are part of the communist group. The remaining four are helpless

puppets who must do what they are told. Out of a paid staff of 16, 12 are members and leaders of the Communist Party, who carry out orders of their party rather than of the workers in their union.

As a result of this condition, the membership has very little to say in the management of the union.

Against this condition appeal is impossible, for the same group controls the leading positions in the International Union and when we do appeal, we find those against whom we complain sitting in judgment.

The complete lack of democracy in our union is best illustrated during elections. The administration secures for itself complete control of the entire election machinery. Opposing candidates are never granted watchers. Time for voting is dragged out over two days or three, as the needs of the administration may dictate. Under these circumstances, it is hardly surprising that the administration is regularly reelected with "great" majorities.

On August 4, 1938, we protested to the International President that we knew in advance that he, as the instigator of these abuses, would not

Trade Union Notes

by George F. Miles

SOWING THE DRAGON'S TEETH

THE announcement of John L. Lewis that the C.I.O. is entering the building trades with its own, dual United Construction Workers Organizing Committee, comes at a moment when the building-trades unions are involved in a bitter war with the federal government and the W.P.A. authorities for the retention of the prevailing wage. That the C.I.O. should choose this moment for attack is due perhaps not solely to chance. "The C.I.O.," we wrote last week, "approaching the strike from a purely factional view-

point, has given it little more than lip service. It appears to be blinded by the prospect of weakening the building-trades unions which, consisting to a large extent of skilled workers, are hardest hit by the new relief provisions." The time seems to have been deliberately chosen at a moment when unionism in the building trades appeared to be in a weakened condition.

Why the sudden interest in the building-trades industry? The cry of organizing the unorganized is thoroughly invalid in this industry, with its one and a half million workers organized. The fact that there are some unorganized is not germane to the issue. There are some unorganized even in the mining industry; nevertheless it is properly considered an organized field. Is it because the C.I.O. has exhausted all other fields of achievement? The facts belie such a claim. The rubber workers, oil workers, mine, mill and smelter workers, are far from completely organized; the southern textile workers are still waiting for the whirlwind campaign promised them at the last convention of the Textile Workers of America; the position of the S.W.O.C. could be much healthier, considering its recent drop in dues payment by 40%. No, it is clear that the entry of the C.I.O. into the building industry was dictated by factional strategy. The building trades represent one of the chief pillars of support of the A. F. of L. and it is to undermine that support that the C.I.O. drive is dedicated. In this sense the drive, if successful, would result, in the main, in the disorganization of the organized workers rather than the organization of the unorganized. But its success is not at all certain. The C.I.O. is here bucking up against many powerful unions, with a collective membership of 1,500,000 and a collective treasury of \$40,000,000.

There is another angle to this announcement by Lewis. There was a meeting of the C.I.O. Executive Board recently. It spoke about organizing the unorganized, suddenly voted to approve Lewis's proposal to terminate peace negotiations with the A. F. of L., but at no time were the members of the Board told that Lewis planned to begin a new and bloody battle in the long-raging civil war in labor's ranks. If the terms democracy and autonomy have any meaning at all, then they should have required full information on this projected line of action which is fraught with such great danger for the entire labor movement. There were present leaders of unions affiliated with the C.I.O. who will now be asked to contribute money to a war chest against the A. F. of L., who will be asked to mobilize their membership for picket duty and for taking sides if more violent clashes result.

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agree to their abolition. On August 15, 1938, we appealed to John L. Lewis and outside of a note from Mr. Lewis's secretary that the matter would be looked into, nothing more has been heard since. And the totalitarian regime in our union goes on as before.

In April 1939, an election for delegates to the biennial convention was held. Under various flimsy excuses, most of the candidates opposed to the administration were taken off the ballot. One candidate, of whom they were not quite certain, was asked whether or not he would support administration resolutions if elected a delegate. He replied that if the administration were to propose union with fascists, he would vote against it. This was considered sufficient ground for removing his name from the ballot.

For the last few years, the workers in our trade have been going thru a severe crisis. We are suffering from a speed-up system which has thrown thousands of workers out of jobs. Our trade agreement with the employers does not provide security on the job. Overtime work, though officially forbidden by the agreement, is overlooked by the administration. In order to strengthen its machine, the administration has taken into the trade new workers from the fold of the Communist Party. As a result of this, unemployment grows bigger while the administration goes on strengthening its machine. The administration burdens the workers with heavy taxes every year. It keeps on squandering the union treasury. It gives no financial reports to the workers.

We have reached a stage in our union where the workers in general have become apathetic towards meetings, because it is impossible for them to voice an opinion or to discuss things intelligently. Workers are in constant fear of expressing an opinion because they may not get a job. This offers a great opportunity to the few Communist Party followers of the administration to steamroller thru all decisions. It is this kind of tactics that have created much dissatisfaction and have brought about an organized expression in our union such as the United Progressive Furriers.

Now we are approaching new elections and already the administration has made it clear that it will brook no such nonsense as democracy. Our

result; there in short, were the spokesmen for the C.I.O. membership which will have to pay in blood and dollars for the C.I.O.'s new campaign, and yet not a word to them about invading the building trades.

Mr. Lewis may wax very indignant over the charge of bureaucracy and totalitarian leadership which he is charged with introducing in the C.I.O. but what other terms characterize his actions so accurately?

Finally, Mr. Lewis's abrupt new declaration of war puts an end to a period which promised so much for the reestablishment of unity and peace in labor's shattered ranks. There were differences of interpretation as to whether or not the last C.I.O. Board meeting broke off permanently the negotiations for peace with the A. F. of L., but today there can be no room for doubt as to which direction the C.I.O. is moving in. It has definitely turned its back on the road to peace. What does Mr. Hillman think of this new turn of affairs? He is said to have disagreed with Mr. Lewis's position on peace at the last C.I.O. Board meeting. What is his attitude now when civil war in its most virulent form is about to break over the head of the entire labor movement?

Another Blunder

THE N.L.R.B. has gone and done it again. We refer to its decision on a run-off election to determine the bargaining agency for the employees of Kingan and Co., Inc., Indianapolis, Ind., in which is involved precisely the same issue on which the Board was overruled by the courts in the Consumers Power case in Michigan. The only difference in this case is that it is a C.I.O. union that's being hit.

The facts in brief are as follows: On June 9, an election was held to determine who was to bargain for the packing-house workers. The contenders were the A. F. of L. affiliate, the Amalgamated Meat Cutters, and the C.I.O. affiliate, the United Meat Packing Workers. The returns showed 774 for the A. F. of L., 740 for the C.I.O. and 52 for no union. Neither organization having received a majority, a run-off election has now been decided, but on the ballot appears only the A. F. of L. organization and "no organization." The C.I.O. affiliate has been ruled off the ballot for reasons just as opaque as in the case of the utility workers.

It is difficult for a layman to understand the wisdom of ruling off the ballot an organization which has received 47% of the vote cast, while leaving on the ballot an "organization" receiving 3% of the vote. I refer, of course, to the choice for "no organization," which remains on the ballot in a situation where 97% of the voters have expressed themselves for unionism.

Frank Howard's Weekly Letter

(Continued from Page 1)

with Gardner's idea that the way to save the New Deal is to protect the dishonesty of communists, fascists, or any one else posing as democrat but actually doing spy and police duty for their gang." He declared he was for a progressive and was going to continue to be one. It is my opinion that the C.P. is preparing to ridicule what the progressive Voorhis does and says about them during the Dies Committee hearings. And Gardner is setting the stage. I say all this with fullest recognition of Dies's reactionary tendencies. The question remains: Is Dies fought best by a C.P. stooge or by an independent radical like Voorhis?

protests and warnings against intimidation were met with cynical jeers; our proposal for a one day election was overruled and our demand for watchers was turned down. We finally urged that a committee of the labor movement be set up to supervise the elections. This was turned down. It is clear that we are headed for another election in which every elementary conception of trade-union democracy will be violated.

We of the United Progressive Furriers feel that there must be many active and thinking trade unionists who are alert to the menace of dictatorial and totalitarian trends in the labor movement. We are certain that those trade unionists will raise their voices on behalf of a trade-union movement, democratically operated by the membership itself and free from control and domination by the Communist Party or any other political organization.

Believing you to be such a thinking, progressive trade unionist, we appeal to you to voice your opinion and make your influence felt upon our leaders to the end that our leaders may realize that their practices run counter to the requirements and needs of a free and unfettered labor movement, that these practices will not be tolerated by enlightened labor opinion.

Fraternally yours,
B. BARAZ, Secretary

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The Insane Logic Of Capitalism

Buying of Gold Proves Madness of System

By LYMAN FRASER

CAPITALISM was always a bit crazy. Now, tormented by an unsolvable economic crisis and by decline and decay, capitalism has become positively insane.

Consider some of the crazy doings of capitalism today—limitation of production, which means limiting wealth out of which capitalists grow rich; the destruction of food while people starve; the spending of money to provide relief for the unemployed where it would be more simple and useful to put them to work—and decide whether or not capitalism is now insane. And consider the final insanity of all—desperate declining capitalism allowing fascists to come to power to save itself and then discovering that the salvation is not only limited, but has all sorts of fascist strings attached to it.

LOGIC IN THE INSANITY

Yet, in all that insanity, there is a terrible logic; for social insanity, any more than individual insanity, is not wholly irrational. All the crazy antics of capitalism are an effort to save itself; and having outlived its historical usefulness, capitalism can "save" itself only thru the terrible logic of insanity.

Consider the insane practise of the American government in purchasing practically all the gold and silver that is offered by the world. In the five years 1934-39, the government has bought \$1,136 million of silver at inflated prices. It has bought tons of gold, until gold in the United States Treasury has risen from \$7,856 million to \$16,135 million, all in the past five years. Some of that gold is being hoarded here by foreigners, but most of it has been bought directly. The Treasury has, in other words, bought roughly upward of \$8,000 million of gold and silver (allowing for gold hoarded here by foreigners)—an immense pile of precious metals which is being stored away and completely unused.

OF WHAT USE THE GOLD AND SILVER?

For of what use is all that gold and silver? It is not needed to "back up" the currency, for the currency has long cut practically all its connections with the precious metals; and while currency is issued for every dollar of silver bought by the government, that additional currency is not needed. And all the tinkering with the gold content of the dollar, in order to raise prices, has flopped miserably—because, for one thing, raising the price of gold without issuing correspondingly larger amounts of paper money can have no effect on prices. And even if the precious metals were still necessary to back up the currency, still our money for years has been unconvertible into gold, the Treasury still has more gold and silver than is necessary for the purpose.

The gold and silver, which still has a value in foreign trade transactions, might be used for American purchases abroad. But if we buy abroad with gold, we lower our exports, and that would still further demoralize production and business. But perhaps we need the gold in case of war? No; it is inconceivable that, in the event of war, the economic position of this country would force it to buy goods abroad and pay with gold exports; on the contrary, another great war will probably see foreign gold flowing into the United States.

But is there no use at all for the gold and silver hoard? It might be used to increase the currency, to inflate the money supply. But if that is done to any great extent, it means inflation and all the tragedy of inflation. But even for purposes of inflation we don't need that enormous hoard of gold and silver; for paper money to inflate the currency can be issued in amounts sufficient to wreck the price system without a single penny of gold being necessary—just print the paper.

About the only use left for the gold and silver is to employ it for commercial purposes—in the arts, for jewelry, to decorate buildings. But to release the hoard for commercial use would destroy its value and lower its price, and then it would no longer be "precious" enough to use in jewelry; and for decorating buildings, I personally prefer other metals.

HOW THE PROFIT IS MADE

A considerable, altho relatively small, part of the American gold

hoard represents the "flight of capital" from other countries, money put in safekeeping in this country by foreign capitalists who do not trust their own countries. Some of it is used to buy American property, especially securities, and some of it just lies in the vaults. That is of no earthly use to the American people; but it helps the foreign capitalist who doesn't trust his own country, who thinks more of his money than he does of his country.

But still more important is the function performed by gold-and-silver buying and hoarding in relation to the American economic crisis.

When the American government buys foreign gold and silver, the transaction gives the foreigners that much purchasing power with which to buy American goods. They get the goods, which are useful; we get the precious metals, which are comparatively useless. From the American angle, it seems a crazy transaction. And it is crazy, from the angle of the masses of the people, but not from the angle of the capitalist interests. Remember, there is a terrible logic in the insanity of declining capitalism.

The economic crisis lowers production and sales. By buying foreign gold and silver, the foreign purchases of American goods are increased. Hence American output and sales are larger than they might be—or, in more apt terms, the output and sales are not shrunken as much (Continued on Page 4)

On the Political Nature Of the Stalinist Party

Communist Party Is Instrument of Kremlin Burocracy

By WILL HERBERG

(Continued from last issue)

Power for what? What determines the lines along which the Stalinists use their power once it is achieved?

Here we come to the second fundamental difference that distinguishes the Stalinist party from the political party in the conventional sense of the word. For every political party in American history has served some American social interest, some class, group or element of the American people. But the Communist Party serves no such interest; it serves the Stalinist ruling clique in the Kremlin and no one else. The "line" which it carries out, that is, the purpose to which it uses the power it so avidly seeks, is directly determined by the Stalin dictatorship in Moscow: at one time, the determining factor is the factional struggle in Russia; at another, the exigencies of Soviet diplomacy; but always the needs of ruling burocracy around Stalin. This is so obvious it hardly needs reiteration. Everybody knows, for example, that the Popular Front policy was adopted by the Communist Parties all over the world in line with the shift of Soviet foreign policy in 1934; everybody knows, too, that should Russian foreign policy undergo another shift away from a "democratic" and towards a rapprochement with the Axis powers, as now seems possible, the Communist Parties all over the world will again change their "line" overnight in a corresponding direction.

In literal fact, the Stalinist parties in the non-Russian world are foreign agencies of the Soviet government. The "social interest" that the American C.P. serves is not to be found in America but in Russia, and of course not in Russia generally, but in the Kremlin.

Now this has some serious implications. It means that the American Communist Party is really "outside" the American labor movement and American social life generally. It is interested only remotely and indirectly in the needs and conditions of the masses in America, only to the degree necessary to promote the extension of power over these masses. Every other political organization in this country (with an exception to be noted below) ultimately represents, as I have pointed out, some social grouping among the American people, some social interest which this grouping embodies.

In the long run, therefore, it is responsible to this social grouping; its policies are at bottom molded and its activities controlled by it. But this is obviously not true of the Stalinist party, for the Stalinist party is responsible only to Stalin and only Stalin determines its policies and activities. It is essentially an "outside" force operating in the

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Bilbo Promotes New "Back-to-Africa" Scheme

Attempts to Make Negro Scapegoat of Depression

By CLARENCE JENKINS

ON April 24, 1939, the Honorable Senator Bilbo, notorious Negro-phobe from Mississippi, introduced into the United States Senate a ponderous bill for the "voluntary resettlement" of American Negroes in Africa. While some 500 Negro supporters listened and cheered with wild enthusiasm in the public galleries, the Senator in a passionate three and a half hour harangue urged federal support for his "African Resettlement Project"—to colonize American Negroes in Liberia, originally founded by the United States as a "homeland" for Negroes.

GARVEYITES BEHIND IT

The Senator urged that the United States negotiate with Great Britain and France for the purchase of 400,000 square miles adjacent to Liberia to be used by Negro colonists from America, whose migration would be financed by this government. With his characteristic disregard for facts, the Senator argued that fully 75% of the Negroes in the United States are waiting for an opportunity to settle in Africa. The Senator declared that he spoke on behalf of the program sponsored by the "Peace Movement of Ethiopia," organized in Chicago. He buttressed his remarks by a pile of petitions, claiming more than 2,500,000 signatures of Negroes. The Ethiopian Peace Movement was set up by the followers of the defunct Universal Negro Improvement Association, founded by Marcus Garvey. Garvey wholeheartedly endorses Bilbo's African colonization project.

The Negro press lightly dismissed Bilbo's speech and colonization scheme as a colossal farce. So far, the Senator has met with little success in his campaign to win federal support for his African project. However, Negro nationalists have instituted a nation-wide campaign to mobilize popular support for the enactment of Bilbo's colonization bill.

For more than a year, the Ethiopian Peace movement, headed by Mrs. M. L. Gordon, has been collaborating with Bilbo, who has led the followers of this organization to believe that he has hit upon a scheme which will win a federal subsidy to make Liberia a "glory land" and build "Gordon City" near Monrovia. Last year, the Gordonites sent David Logan and Joseph Rockmore to Liberia to survey colonization possibilities. These delegates were informed by the Liberian government that Liberia was opposed to mass immigration, but favored a select group of immigrants composed mainly of agriculturists.

DANGEROUS PROPAGANDA

The miserable economic and social conditions of the Negro masses in America today encourage the fatuous belief that migration to Africa means the salvation of the American Negro. However, only an insignificant number of Negro nationalists (Garveyites) are seriously interested in such migration. Nevertheless, the

type of propaganda embodied in Bilbo's speech, which is being widely circulated thruout the United States, should not be ignored. Such propaganda is fraught with danger for the Negro in this country.

Speaking on the "Negro question," Bilbo argues: "The solution of this problem is equally as important to the black race as to the white race, because without a proper solution both races will be destroyed and will be succeeded by a mongrel race, and at the same time, the white race will suffer the loss of all that is dear and precious, high and noble in our civilization. . . ."

"At the last session, we appropriated over two billions for relief. One-half of that amount of money could be spent in providing for the resettlement of the Negro in his native fatherland, and the government would save money on the transaction, because if we could succeed in removing five, six or eight million Negroes who are now ready to go to Africa, we would solve the unemployment problem and do away with the necessity for relief, for there would be a job for every white man and woman in America."

This is the type of crackpot panacea and poisonous propaganda that kindles the flames of race hatred and fascism. Such propaganda makes the Negro the scapegoat responsible for the unemployment problem in the United States. Such propaganda makes the Negro the real victim and not the alleged benefactor of a "Back to Africa" move-

ment. One has only to look at the pathetic plight of the Jews in Hitler Germany to grasp the dangerous significance and implications of Bilbo's "Back to Africa" propaganda.

The history of "Back to Africa" movements in the United States point to futility and failure. Especially at the present time of intense imperialist aggrandizement is the idea of an independent black nation in Africa established with the aid of Britain, France and the United States no more than a mad dream.

THE NEGRO IS AN AMERICAN

For over three hundred years, the American Negro has mixed his blood with the blood and toil of the whites in this country. The Negro in America has become an integral part of the American people in every respect. The Negro is an American if there ever was one. The country is his as much as any one's. His contributions to American civilization entitle him to enjoy its wealth and happiness as a free and equal citizen. This is the heritage that the Negro here in the United States must fight for. The American Negro cannot find freedom and happiness in some remote corner of imperialist-ravaged Africa or the puppet state of Liberia. All such schemes are gross deceptions by unscrupulous demagogues or else pitiful self-deceptions by confused, shortsighted Negro nationalists.

Anglo-French Pact And Stalin Policy

Tri-Power Treaty a Mere Scrap of Paper

(Continued from page 1)

fact between the Stalinist regime and the mass of the peasants. As the peasants form, even after industrialization, some 70% of the population of the U.S.S.R. a war would obviously bring about a serious crisis for the Stalinist regime because the Soviet army is in its composition mainly an army of peasants.

TOWARDS A GERMAN RAPPROCHEMENT

The insistence with which Stalin and Molotov speak of the improvement of economic relations between the Soviet Union and the fascist states shows that for the Stalin government such relations are an alternative to a military alliance with the "democratic" imperialists. Several important newspapers reported recently that negotiations between the Soviet government and German "economic" envoys had been going on during the entire period of negotiations for a military alliance with England and France. Of course, any economic agreement between the U.S.S.R. and Nazi Germany has its political importance as well. It would be naive to suppose that the Soviet Union and Germany could develop their economic relations to any extent without a political agreement.

From the Nazi point of view, an agreement with the Soviet Union is of first-class importance for the war. German imperialism is preparing. The German imperialists are very anxious to avoid in any future war a situation similar to what they had to face in 1914, a war on two fronts. Furthermore, the Soviet Union possesses almost all the raw materials Germany lacks and which it would need particularly in case of war, for instance, oil, iron ore, copper, manganese, timber, agricultural products, etc. Any major economic agreement between the U.S.S.R. and Nazi Germany would virtually mean the effective strengthening of the

German military machine. We see that Stalin's present course confirms what Krivitsky said in his articles on Stalin's efforts to come to terms with Hitler.

FUNDAMENTAL DEFECTS OF STALIN'S POLICY

The fundamental vice of the Stalinist policy is that the Stalin regime has cut off the connections between the Soviet Union and the international working class, that instead of supporting their revolutionary fight against imperialism, it is supporting the imperialists against the masses and is using its Communist International agency for this purpose. The Stalinist betrayal of the interests of the masses has led the Soviet Union into a blind-alley, leaving it no other choice but to become practically a tool of use or the other of the rival imperialist blocks.

For years, Stalin's agents in C.I. have been telling the workers that not the class struggle against imperialism but "collective security," an all-embracing war alliance of the "democratic" powers, was the best method of preventing war. On occasion, they have even suggested that the best thing would be to have a "war for democracy" as soon as possible. Perhaps Stalin will now try to continue these deceptions by a double or triple game, by inciting the masses in the "democratic" countries to go to war against Hitler while he himself makes a deal with the Nazi dictator. Or perhaps there will be some new turn of C.I. policy along the lines of the resolution of the recent conference of the Communist Party of Germany (January 1939), which advocated an alliance between the Soviet Union and Germany "regardless of the inner regime in Germany." In any case, the developments in the Soviet foreign policy are a convincing proof that the Stalinist course in the last few years was a gigantic political swindle.

Movies As War Weapon

By CHAS. A. and MARY R. BEARD

(The following paragraphs are from Charles A. and Mary R. Beard's recent work, "America In Midpassage" (Macmillan). The description is of conditions at the end of 1938, but it is even more accurate today.—Editor.)

DURING American participation in the World War, the moving-picture industry had been the willing and abject servant of propaganda from Washington. After a brief season, while the war-sick nations were washing off the blood of the last conflict, the tension was relaxed. Then, as politicians and warriors began to gird themselves for "strong foreign policies" and the anticipated consequences, the motion-picture industry came back into line. War pictures streamed from the studios at home and abroad for the American screen. . . .

Films inclined in the direction of peace were overwhelmed, however, after President Roosevelt's "quarantine" speech on October 5, 1937, and year. . . . After President Roosevelt announced his naval-expansion policy on January 28, 1938, and encountered unexpected opposition in Congress and outside, his Administration turned to the moving-picture industry for assistance in propaganda. Besides helping the newswire in exploiting the Panay incident in the Japanese war on China, as part of a campaign for new preparedness, the Roosevelt Administration strengthened its cooperation with the picture industry. On April 13, 1938, Variety, an authentic voice of entertainment enterprise, was able to report "progress" in a dispatch from Hollywood: "The government is now showing a more friendly attitude toward pictures since the big naval appropriations and a closer cooperation is pledged to pictures built around the military arms of the service. . . . Washington is now trying to win over picture-goers to need of adequate defense and present the U. S. show of strength."

About the same time, the syndicated moving-picture column of the International News Service explained this close connection between government and the industry in an illuminating sentence: "Perhaps the reason Hal Wallis obtained such ready permission for Warner Brothers is because 'Wings Over the Navy' is propaganda tied up with the recent billion-dollar appropriation for added naval protection." The President was determined to have his way and was eager to see aid given to the production of films that would swing the people over to his line of policy. For all practical purposes, the picture industry had become the servant of the Roosevelt Administration in respect to foreign, naval and military designs. . . .

Not content with making sure that the right "slant" was given to moving pictures connected with its armament propaganda, the Roosevelt Administration took care to keep out counter-suggestions of a pacific nature. When Paramount Pictures was preparing "Men With Wings" . . . it arranged for the heroine to deliver a vigorous denunciation of war; but according to reports of high authenticity, the government issued a ban against that speech in opposition to war. A dispatch in the New York Times, May 28, 1938, declared: "Government pressure on Paramount Pictures to eliminate all pacifist preaching in 'Men With Wings' has brought a rewriting of the final twenty pages of dialogue. . . . Commenting on the event, Variety circumspectly remarked that "unofficial suggestions from officials in Washington" had been responsible for the re-direction of "Men With Wings" in harmony with President Roosevelt's armament policies and propaganda.

Altho for a long time it was denied by federal authorities and film producers that they were deliberately united in any scheme of armament propaganda, facts belied the denial. . . . Thus, as a commentator on the facts remarked, the citizens who had to pay taxes for wars and shed blood in them also paid for war-propaganda in the form of "entertainment".

"I Gave My Life for Freedom"

I was a peasant of the Polish plain:
I left my plow because the message ran:
Russia, in danger, needed every man
To save her from the Teuton; and was slain.
I gave my life for freedom—This I know:
For those who bade me fight had told me so.

I was a Tyrolean, a mountaineer;
I gladly left my mountain home to fight
Against the brutal, treacherous Muscovite;
And died in Poland on a Cossack spear.
I gave my life for freedom—This I know:
For those who bade me fight had told me so.

I worked in Lyons at my weaver's loom,
When suddenly the Prussian despot hurled
His felon blow at France and at the world;
Then I went forth to Belgium and my doom.
I gave my life for freedom—This I know:
For those who bade me fight had told me so.

I owned a vineyard by the wooded Main,
Until the Fatherland, begirt by foes
Lusting her downfall, called me, and I rose
Swift to the call—and died in fair Lorraine.
I gave my life for freedom—This I know:
For those who bade me fight had told me so.

I worked in a great shipyard by the Clyde,
There came a sudden word of war's declared,
Of Belgium, peaceful, helpless, unprepared,
Asking our aid, I joined the ranks, and died.
I gave my life for freedom—This I know:
For those who bade me fight had told me so.

W. N. EWER

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I hope I have made it plain that I am discussing Stalinism as an organized force, in its official character as party and movement. I certainly do not mean to suggest that the characteristics of Stalinism necessarily apply to every single member or follower of the C.P. For, in addition to the small group of wire-pullers at the top, who are conscious instruments of the Stalin clique in the Kremlin—some, in fact, being outright G.P.U. agents—there are many in Stalinist ranks who are quite sincere in their convictions. Some treasure in their bosom the revolutionary past of their party and still hope against hope that

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Only Half Over.....

WELL, this is the first week in August—and the Workers Age is here! This means that we have succeeded in weathering almost one half of the difficult Summer season without missing a single issue. For this our heartfelt thanks are due our readers and friends who have come to our assistance in the past few weeks.

But Summer is only half over, and our difficulties are as great as ever. Unless the loyal and generous support we have so far received is multiplied in the coming weeks, the disaster we have been striving with all our might to stave off will overtake us—we will simply have to suspend the regular appearance of the Workers Age as a weekly!

We need not tell our readers and friends that a terrible blow this would be to the cause to which the Workers Age is dedicated. It must not be permitted to happen. And only YOU can prevent it. Rush in every cent you can spare or collect IMMEDIATELY to: Workers Age, 131 West 33rd Street, New York City.

BRITAIN IN THE FAR EAST

NO better confirmation of the wisdom of the anti-war and isolationist elements in this country in opposing any "collective security" alliance whatever with Great Britain, could be desired than the present British course in Far East. Only a few weeks ago, the champions of the Administration's foreign policy, from President Roosevelt to Alfred Landon, from the New York Herald Tribune to the New York Post, were trying to convince the American people that it was necessary to "revise" neutrality so as to make it possible for us to come to the assistance of the "great democracies" in their struggle against fascism and aggression. And now we learn that the greatest of these "great democracies" has reached an "understanding" with the Japanese aggressor whereby the latter's "specific rights" in China are officially recognized and honored. A curious crusade against aggression indeed!

What we have here is in fact a Far Eastern edition of Munich, on a different scale, of course. The apologists of "collective security" are already trying to whitewash British imperialism by whining that England could not do otherwise because it had been "deserted" by America. Even if such a grotesquely ludicrous view of international politics could be entertained for a moment, there is plenty of evidence to show that London began its "appeasement" of Tokyo long before neutrality revision was blocked in the Senate. No, the British Foreign Office has reasons of a quite different order for acting as it does, now as at Munich.

The fundamental fact is that official Britain is more afraid of a victorious nationalist China than of rival Japanese imperialism, just as it is more afraid of a free (socialist) Germany than of Hitler's threatening expansionism. For imperialist Britain Japan still is, as the Chinese used to put it, the "watch-dog of imperialism" in the Far East—again, just as fascism is the "watch-dog of capitalism" in Europe.

These are the basic realities, and the American people will do well to keep them in mind when next they hear the President, and his innumerable echoes, speaking from Democratic, Republican or Stalinist platforms, plead with us to "take our place" in the "common front of democracy against fascism".

WAGE-HOUR BILL IN DANGER

DEVELOPMENTS in Washington during the past two weeks make it quite clear that the movement to undermine the wage-hour act thru a deluge of "amendments," has taken on formidable proportions. It is an open secret that the chief Administration spokesmen in Congress favor the move to the White House is officially against it. Indeed, the Barden amendments, representing the most dangerous form of this attack on the law, are apparently being piloted thru the House by Majority Leader Sam Rayburn, under whose protecting wing the whole conspiracy is being hatched.

The present wage-hour law is far from perfect. It is very much inferior to the original Black-Connery bill. Nor has it been administered in an altogether satisfactory way. Organized labor has had more than one occasion in the past year to raise its voice against glaring defects in the law as well as against gross shortcomings in its enforcement. But even with all these shortcomings, the present law represents an advance in social legislation that must be preserved, for it embodies the recognition of federal responsibility in regulating minimum conditions of labor on a uniform basis throughout the country. It is not likely that this principle will be challenged directly and openly by the enemies of wage-hour legislation. What they will try to do—indeed, what they are already trying to do—is to multiply "exceptions" and "exceptions" of all sorts with which to swamp the law and turn it into a virtual dead letter. If at the same time local sweatshop interests are served by allowing unlimited exploitation of labor, then naturally the Bardens and their kind will not be heart-broken.

The attack on the wage-hour law is a serious challenge to labor. Organized labor must act promptly and unitedly if a costly setback is to be averted. And it does not need such grotesque antics as Mr. Lewis's outburst before the House committee the other day to accomplish its end.

"NEVER, in the 150 years of our history," Mrs. Roosevelt declared recently in a plea for greater power to the Executive in foreign affairs, "has a President because of his constitutional powers in foreign affairs involved the country in a war."

Now Mrs. Roosevelt knows very well, because she is literate, that both McKinley and Wilson used their "constitutional powers in foreign affairs" to drive this country so far along the road to war that there was no turning back. The evidence is so overwhelming that the issue can hardly be said to be debatable any longer.

And yet Mrs. Roosevelt makes the statement she does. Thus does the necessity of defending the bad cause of "collective security" for war undermine the intellectual integrity of even so sincere a person as Mrs. Roosevelt.

FROM Herbert L. Matthews's dispatch in the New York Times of July 5:

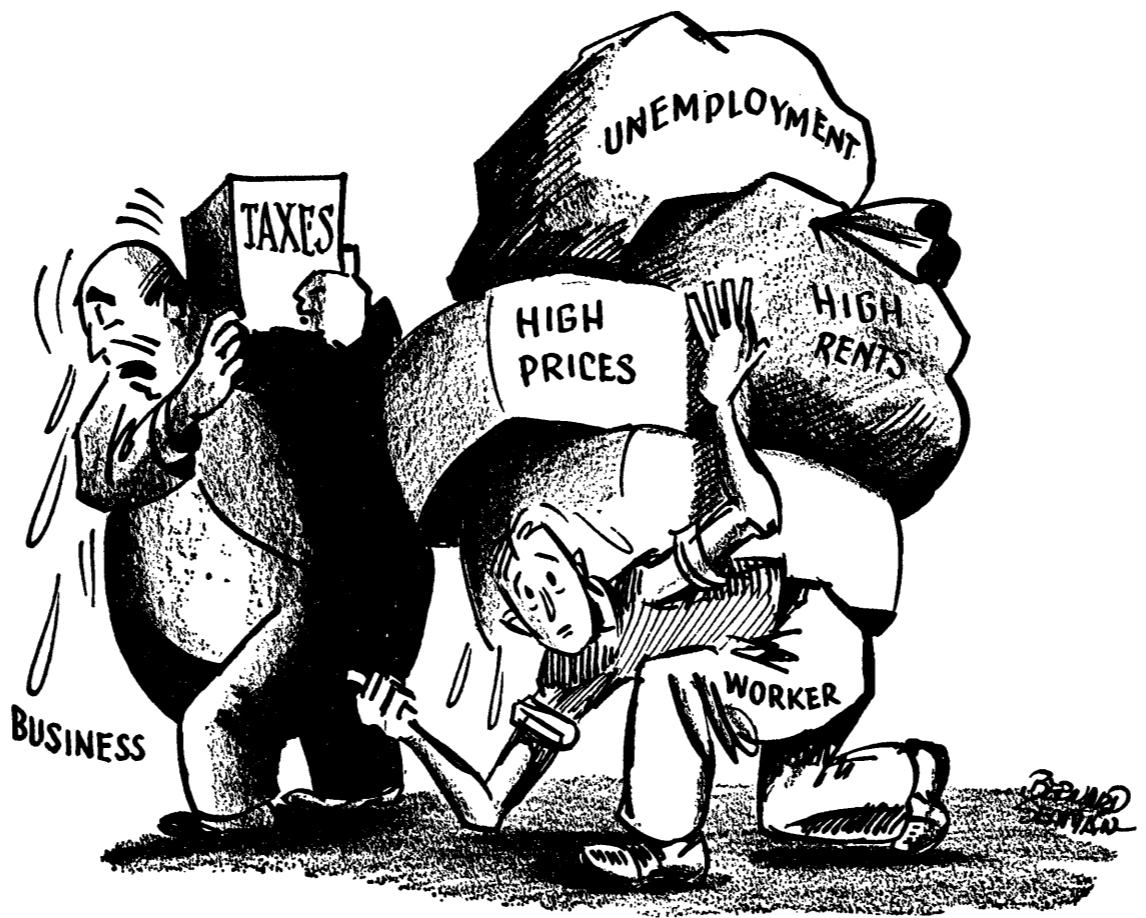
"There is nothing to prevent Russia from getting together with the Axis powers, whereas she would be betraying her own revolution to make an alliance with the democracies, says Ardengo Soffici in a significant article printed today in Turin's Gazzetta del Popolo.

"Signor Soffici expresses the attitude adopted by many Italian political thinkers, which is that fascism, like communism, is a proletarian revolution aimed at bourgeois capitalism. That is to say, the fascist movements—he names Italian fascism, German Nazism and the Falange Espanola—are enemies of Bolshevism, but they are not enemies of Russia and her people, and all are confirmed enemies of democracy."

Coming diplomatic events do indeed cast their shadow before them!

"IT is cheering and encouraging to know that there is a movement on foot to find refugees for those whose politics and whose race have failed to meet the demands of their countries."—Heywood Brown, July 22. You don't happen to mean Trotskyites and other Russian communists "whose politics . . . have failed to meet the demands" of Stalin, do you, Heywood?

"LOOK WHO'S COMPLAINING"



—from Justice

Germany—Key to Chaos Of Tomorrow's World War

Weakness of German Economy is Decisive Question

By JAY LOVESTONE

(Concluded from last issue)

IT is impossible to exaggerate the heavy price paid by the workers thru the devaluating speed-up alone—a speed-up inseparable from the Nazi imperialist intensification of efforts to build up gigantic war equipment and a huge reserve of essential commodities. As a result, ill-health and disability caused a loss of 740,000 man-years of work in 1938. The dreadful pace and lengthened hours have so reduced production capacity per individual worker that the Frankfurter Zeitung was recently compelled to say: "The main concern now is whether it will be possible to stop the steadily declining output per-capita and that, 'the strength of even the most ardent workers has limits.'" And the London Economist of June 24 very pointedly states:

"The burden upon farmers families is very heavy; and while agricultural prices have been fixed since 1936, costs for fertilizers and machinery have risen, and the profitability of farming is falling.

"This is the background of Germany's foreign policy in Central Europe. Der Deutsche Volkswirt, discussing agricultural difficulties, poses the Reich's claim to assume the economic management of Mittel-Europa. The intention is as clear as is the present situation in German farming."

But the time is drawing near when the German capitalists that have made this heavy investment in armaments will demand dividends. Then what? This leads to the all-decisive question of present-day international capitalism. What's going to happen to German economy? For the capitalist system in the Reich, as coordinated by the Nazi dictator-

ship, there are only the following alternatives:

1. Expand or at least maintain the present boom by expanding Germany's share of the world market. This is extremely difficult and can only incur determined resistance from American, British and French competitors, at whose expense such German expansion must come. Actually, in 1938, the proportion of German industrial production exported dropped to 10.9%. Even the Nazi chieftains most devoted to "autarchy" or national economic isolationism and self-sufficiency, realize that German capitalist economy must attain an export quota of 20%—or be compelled to depress German living standards still further. The Nazis don't seem to be anxious to face the consequences of such an eventuality. That explains Hitler's "Export or Die" campaign which has already brought, in the first quarter of 1939, a 40% increase in shipments to the countries along the road of the eastern and southeastern drive by Nazi imperialism.

Nor will Roosevelt's hint of another international conference be of any serious use here. Such a conference did take place in 1933 in London's Hall of Fossils, under far more favorable circumstances. No talk-fest or little concessions that don't alter the positions of the leading imperialist powers in world economy can fit German capitalism into the world market.

2. Should Nazi imperialism fail to extend or maintain the boom, then disaster is ahead for the Hitler dictatorship. If the present boom breaks, it will bring an incalculable number and all sorts of grave consequences. To ward this off, the German ruling class will be ready to resort to any and every desperate move—not excluding war.

3. And the third alternative of war is not necessarily a way out for the German capitalist economy, with all recognition of the might of Hitler's military machine and Nazi economic preparedness for the conflict. Nowadays, even victories entail suicidal cost. Where are the victors of Versailles today?

4. An economic collapse in Germany bears the germs of proletarian revolution—despite the present pitiful weakness of the subjective forces of social revolution in the Greater Reich.

The London Financial Times, in its issue of May 10, 1939, gave Lombard Street's estimate of the suicidal alternatives. It said:

"The question of the future is whether this drift into inflationary finance is likely to lead to a general economic breakdown in Germany, taking the form of banking difficulties and internal flight from currency and an overt rise in prices and decline in the purchasing power of the currency. Were Germany living under conditions of free economy, such a breakdown would probably have occurred long ago. . . . It follows that inflation will give rise to different symptoms in Germany from those under conditions of free economy. An extension of rationing, a shortage of labor (manifested, for example, in a recalling of pensioners and increase in hours of work), and a deterioration in the external trade balance will all point to the growth of inflation. "These symptoms already exist today. . . ."

"The German worker will find himself, therefore, in the position of having to spend a smaller and smaller proportion of his earnings on articles he wants and a larger and larger proportion on the things he does not. . . ."

"What then are the alternatives? There are three. Firstly, that prices will be allowed to rise, which inevitably means currency inflation; secondly, that an attempt will be made

to increase the volume of consumption goods, which means a large-scale conversion of armament industries to peace-time activity; or, thirdly, that a political solution will be devised, which means war."

Even from a long-range viewpoint, there are no other alternatives in sight for German capitalism in the international imperialist arena. None of these four alternatives can insure fitting German capitalism into the world market of today. None of these alternatives means peace or stability for humanity. Here is the ghastly logic of capitalist development on a world scale. Here we have the why and wherefore of the developing world war. Here is the completely imperialist character of the spreading world war—more sordid to the core than any other imperialist conflict in history.

All talk about its being a conflict of ideologies is just plain poppycock. Of course, ideological elements enter into all significant historical events and actions, but they are of no decisive import. The savage Nazi persecution of the Jewish people, the barbarism of the Hitler government against the working people, the British doublecrossing of the Zionists in Palestine, the sacredness of the ideal of self-determination for the smaller countries or weaker peoples, the Nazi nonsense about "Aryanism" and brutal wiping out of democratic rights in Germany—all of these are very important in themselves, as such. But, and the but looms decisively on the international horizon, none of these offers us the why of the world war.

The impending holocaust is nothing more and nothing less than a fight among the giant imperialist robber powers for the redivision of the world's markets and spheres of influence and the redistribution of the earth's resources. For this reason and this reason only will many millions of workers be called upon or forced in all lands to slaughter each other.

(This is the conclusion of the third of a series of articles by Jay Lovestone on "Tomorrow's War." The fourth will appear in the next issue.—Editor.)

"Anti-Fascism" is Not Enough . . .

Only Aggressive Policy Can Defeat Fascism

By ARCHIBALD MacLEISH

(We publish below the most important paragraphs of an article, "Liberalism and Anti-Fascist Front," by Archibald MacLeish in the May 1939 issue of the Survey Graphic. While we do not agree with all of the views expressed by Mr. MacLeish in this article, we welcome the stress he lays on a forward-looking, affirmative policy for American liberalism as against a policy of defense of the status-quo.—Editor.)

IT is the nature of liberalism to ask questions and not to answer them. The question which American liberalism asks itself in the Spring of 1939, however, is a question which must be answered. For American liberalism, which has been a disinterested and judicial observer of so many conflicts in so many parts of the world, remote and near, now finds itself an observer of a conflict in which it can be neither disinterested nor judicial because that conflict involves itself, and threatens its own right to exist. If the mutiny against intellectual truth, which we call fascism, destroys democratic society, it will destroy liberalism as well. Liberalism, therefore, is a party to the struggle. And the question is simply this: What does American liberalism propose to do about it? How does American liberalism propose to defend democratic society against the treason of fascism? What policy of defense does American liberalism believe should be adopted?

TWO BROAD ALTERNATIVES

The issue can be stated more narrowly and more specifically. Logically, and practically as well, there are two broad alternatives. An attempt can be made to defend democracy against fascism by adopting an anti-fascist policy, or an attempt can be made to defend democracy against fascism by adopting a pro-democratic policy. The first is the policy adopted by the Communist Party. It is a defensive policy which devotes its efforts and its means altogether to the weakening of fascism by the exploitation of fascism's cruelties, stupidities and defects. The second is the policy so far adopted by no one. In theory, it would be an affirmative and offensive policy, which would devote its efforts and the means at its disposal to the strengthening of democracy. The question which American liberalism must answer is whether it will follow the Communist Party into a policy of anti-fascism or whether it will adopt the alternative policy of aggressive pro-democratic action aimed, not at the exploitation of the weakness of fascism, but at the realization of the potential strength of democracy. To my way of thinking, the answer to this question must be given very soon.

There is a great deal to be said—or rather a great deal is said—for the first, the anti-fascist, alternative. It is said that anti-fascism is the only realistic policy because only on the negative line of anti-fascism is it possible to form a common front of all opinions, and only by a common front of all opinions it is possible for democracy to win. It is said that anti-fascism is the only sound psychological policy, since the love of democracy is itself a negative thing, being no more than the hatred of tyranny, and since the hatred of fascism supplies again the hatred of tyranny which is necessary to give the love of democracy vitality and force. It is said, in short, that anti-fascism, both practically and ideally, is the policy which should be adopted.

ANTI-FASCISM NOT ENOUGH

Speaking alone for myself, I must dissent from these arguments and

their conclusion. I do not believe that anti-fascism is the only realistic policy of defense. And the reason I disbelieve it is precisely the reason advanced in its support. It is undoubtedly true that only on the negative line of anti-fascism is it possible to form a common front of all opinions in defense of democracy. But the reason why it is possible to form a common front of all opinions on the negative line of anti-fascism is precisely that it is not democracy which is being defended on that line but the status-quo. It is the defense of the status-quo which brings together the Chicago Tribune and Mr. Ickes and the State Department and the C.I.O. and the D.A.R. and the radio announcers and the people who pay income taxes and the people who do not pay income taxes. And the policy which proposes to fight fascism by defending the status-quo is not a realistic policy but an extremely unrealistic policy because the status-quo cannot be defended. A status-quo of which the most noticeable characteristic is ten millions of unemployed cannot be defended against fascism. . . . Fascism, as we have seen in Spain, as we have seen in Czechoslovakia, as we have seen here also, does not attack from abroad. It attacks in the back rooms, in the dark of the railroad trestles, in the sand-lots down by the river, in the loudspeaker on the kitchen table where the grating voice of the ambitious priest rattles the pitiful dishes with spite and hate. It attacks where the fleets and the coast-defense guns and the bombers of the status-quo cannot intercept it. It attacks where the status-quo is vulnerable—within. The common front which can be formed to defend the status-quo against fascism is a common front which stands with its back to the real danger. . . .

NOT A REALISTIC POLICY

Clearly, then, the allegedly realistic policy of defense against fascism which proposes to fortify the frontiers of the status-quo is not a realistic policy of defense against the actual fascist danger, for it is the status-quo which has created this actual fascist danger. The only possible defense . . . is strengthening of democratic institutions and democratic loyalty within the country. A nation moving radically and vigorously toward a believable democratic objective is not a nation in which a fascist coup d'état is possible. A nation standing still and defending a static and decadent economy is a nation in which a fascist coup is all but inevitable.

But if anti-fascism, as a realistic policy, is indefensible, so too is the rationalization of that policy which argues that anti-fascism will reinvigorate democracy—that it will supply again the hatred of tyranny and the fear of oppression upon which the love of democracy rests. It is undoubtedly true that the love of liberty involves the hatred of despotism. But there is a difference between inventing liberty out of hatred for despotism, and defending liberty against the fear of despotism. The hatred of tyranny which results in the invention of liberty is one thing; it produces a new and affirmative act of belief and hope. The fear of tyranny which accompanies the defense of a liberty already won is another: it remains only fear. And a policy which rests upon fear is a dangerous policy to depend upon because fear is a short-lived emotion.

People get over indignation. They get over horror. They even get over fear. What they don't want to remember drains easily from their minds. . . . We have seen newsreel pictures taken in Spain and China which were unforgettable. We have forgotten them. We suffer now the bitter indignation which only cold-blooded cruelty such as Franco's can inspire. And we will forget that indignation. Indeed, we will forget this last and angriest indignation sooner than others, for people forget the shocking and the shameful and the terrible the more readily as it is the more shocking and the more shameful. For a generation after the Civil War people debated Sherman's responsibility for burning half of Atlanta—a fire in which no one died. A few months after the Nazi bombing of Guernica and the fascist slaughter in the bull-ring of Badajoz, we had forgotten both Guernica and Badajoz.

AFFIRMATIVE POLICY NEEDED

Speaking still for myself, I can only say that I do not believe in the negative policy, the defensive policy, the anti-fascist policy. I believe only in an affirmative policy, an offensive policy, a pro-democratic policy. I believe that American liberalism must refuse to follow the communist lead, that it must refuse to forego its own nature and its own purposes, that it must refuse to identify democracy with the status-quo, that it must become not less liberal, less radical, but more liberal, more radical. I believe that American liberalism must become more liberal, not less liberal as the danger in Europe becomes more acute. I believe that American democracy must invent and continually reinvent its democracy; that it must attack not defend. . . .

The Insane Logic of Capitalist Profits

(Continued from Page 3)

as might be by the economic crisis. The fact that the precious metals are useless means nothing to capitalism: the sales are still made and the profits are useful to the receivers of profits.

It may be argued that the workers gain something, too, since the larger output and sales mean more employment (or, more aptly, less unemployment). That is true, but the increased employment and production might be in the form of goods used by our own people. But doing that would mean higher wages and lower profits. If the additional goods are sold to the American people thru higher wages, the capitalist receives no profit; by selling the goods abroad and receiving payments in gold and silver, the capitalist makes his profit.

RAISING BUYING POWER ABROAD—NOT AT HOME

Or put it this way: There is a deficiency of purchasing power in the United States, which means that industry cannot dispose of all the goods it can produce. Hence the crisis. Instead of increasing American purchasing power to the point where it matches full production, our insane economic system increases the

purchasing power of foreigners who pay for our useful goods with gold and silver that the American people cannot use.

But there is still another and more important angle to the terrible insane logic of capitalism.

All thru the years of the economic crisis, profits and savings, or potential capital, have been greater than investment; the lag of investment was especially great in the years 1934-37, and was primarily responsible for the new depression. Surplus idle capital must find some income-yielding opportunity. The American gold-and-silver hoard represents, essentially, the "freezing" of idle surplus capital. The capital is realized for the owners, albeit in wholly parasitical form. The owners have their capital and income, which is of use to them; the government owns the gold and silver hoard, which is of no use to the American people, and is, in fact, an additional burden upon them.

There is no way out of the terrible logic of the insanity of declining capitalism except thru socialism—a democratic system of production for use, a system where the only purpose of production is to supply the people with useful goods and not to safeguard the profits and the capital of a parasitical minority.